SLURETARY OF STATE

MERCRANDUR PORT

SECRET

The Secretary

The Under Secretary

Subject: Cube in the Security Council

1. The Security Council will reconvene around 5:00 this afternoon. Keanwhile, all the leading members of the UX will be stirring around looking for a way out of an extremely dangerous situation.

2. Three mediation efforts can be currently identified:

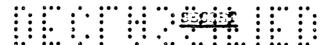
- a. The UAR (together with Algeria) is floating a draft "restrain yourselves and talk" resolution. There have been some changes since yesterday. The resolution, showing the changes is attached at TAB A.
- b. The Brazilian and Hexican delegates have approached Arthur ween and asked whether it would be useful for those to try to get the Cubans and Soviets and to agree to a package that would call for no more introduction of offensive military equipment, the stationing of UN observers in Cuba, and, in return, the lifting of the querentine. (Their package does not seen to include a bun on further development of missile bases, with materiel already in Cuba. It certainly does not conc enywhere mear "dismentling and withdrawal.")
- c. U Thank has not yet started to mediate, but in response to the urain of a large group of neutrals will shortly issue what he describes (to Ambassador Stevenson) as a "balanced" appeal to the President and Er. Ahrushchev.
- 3. We face now the problem of whether to press to a vote the US resolution, and therefore also the Cuban and Soviet resolutions. (Texts of the U.S. and Soviet resolutions are at TAB B). My present view is that it would not be wise to press for a vote forthwith. The Security Council is a better umbrella for behind-the-scenes megatiations with the Soviets than the General Assembly would be. We can control the voting on procedural and substantive matters much better if we stay in the Security Council. If we press our resolution to a vote, collect our seven votes, and draw the promised Soviet veto,

it would

it would be hard to evoid going on into the General Assembly under the Uniting for Peace Resolution. Shifting the venue to the General Assembly would heat up the political atmosphere, which is what we do not need.

- [If we decide that the matter should remain in the Security Council for the moment, and we do not press our resolution to a vote there today, there are several levels on which we can sperate. They are not mutually exclusive, and some combination of them may prove to be the best arrangement:
 - asks the parties to get together or asks the Secretary General to get them together. I think we would have to assume that, for some purposes at least, the "parties concerned" now include all members of the OAS.
 - b. We might agree, as an interim measure, to some form of stand-still resolution but it will have to be one which clearly left our quarantine in effect until there are some arrangements for dismantling and withdrawing the missiles and other offensive weapons in Cubs.
 - c. We might discreetly encourage an immediate broadening of the issue, to include the whole problem of nuclear miscile empediations at future bases. A way of doing this is illustrated by the resolution at TAB C, which might be put forward by the Irish and/or other appropriate neutrals.
 - d. We might use the crisis atmosphere to try to get a substantial leap forward in the whole field of arms control. This could take the form of a Heads of Government meeting, at Geneva, of the 10-nation Disarmament Committee, which could provide the occasion for agreement on an atmospheric test ban, an intensification of the work on avoiding surprise attack, and an exercise in summitry. A provision along this line is also included in the draft resolution at TAB C.
 - 5. As of 2:00 p.m. today, my recommendations would be:
 - a. To keep the matter in the Security Council for the time being:

b. To encourage



b. To encourage a prociening of the discussion to include the Turkish and Italian base problems;

- e. To insist on withdrawal of the Soviet missiles from Cube before lifting our quarantine (i.e., not to be willing to trade our quarantine for a more standstill arrangement); and
- d. Do everything we can to use the crisis atmosphere to intensify practical discussions of arms control.

Harlan Cleveland

IC:EC:ntb

SECRUT



PROPOSED DAS DENET RESCEUTION AS AMENDED

THE SECURITY COURCIL

Maving considered the recent serious developments in the Caribbean.

Koted with grave consern the threat to international peace and security,

Having listened to the parties directly concerned

- 1. Calls upon the parties concerned to refrain from any action which may directly or indirectly further aggravate the situation and-se-take-the-messessary-stepe-to-bring-the situation-in-the-Caribbean-back-to-the-state-of-affairs-existing prior-to-22-October-1962;
- 2. Requests the Acting Secretary General to promptly confer with the parties directly concerned on the immediate steps to take to remove the existing threat to world peace, and to normalize the situation in the Caribbean;
- 3. <u>Calls upon</u> the parties concerned to comply forthwith with the resolution and provide every assistance to the Acting Secretary General in performing his tasks;
- 4. Requests the Acting Secretary General to report to the Council on the implementation of peragraph 2 of this resolution.

(Phoned by Mr. Siaco, 11:20 a.m., 10/24/62)

DRAFT RESCLUTION

TER SKOTETTY CHIRCY L

Having considered the serious threat to the security of the bestern Hamisphere and the peace of the world caused by the continuance and acceleration of foreign intervention in the Caribbean.

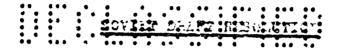
Moting with concern that nuclear missiles and other offensive weapons have been secretly introduced into Cuba.

Moting also that as a sonsequence a quarantine is being imposed around the country;

Gravely concerned that further continuance of the Cuban situation say lead to direct conflict,

- 1. Cells as a provisional measure under Article 40 for the immediate dismentling and withdrawal from Cube of all missiles and other offensive weapons;
- 2. Authorizes and requests the Acting Secretary General to despatch to Cups a United Mations observer corps to assure and report on compliance with this resolution;
- 3. Calls for termination of the measures of quarantine directed against military shipments to Cube upon UN certification of compliance with Faragraph 1;
- 4. Urgently recommends that the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics sonfer promptly on measures to remove the existing threat to the security of the Yestern hemisphere and the peace of the world, and report thereon to the Security Council."

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THE SACURITY COURCIL

Boing guided by the maintenance of peace and the ensuring of security.

Considering intelerable the interference by the United

States in the internal affairs of Cuba,

Ecting the violation of the norms of shipping imposed by the United States,

- 1. Condomns the actions of the United States designed to violate the United Stations Courter and increase tensions;
- 2. Insists that the United States Government repositive controls on shipping;
- 3. Proposes to the Government of the United States to halt any interference into the affairs of Cuba or any other state constituting a threat to peace;
- 4. Calls on the United States, the USSS and Cube to establish contact and to enter into negotiations with a view to morsalizing the situation and removing the threat of war.

October 23,1962



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THE EXCURITY COVECIL:

- L. Requests the muclear pewers:
- a. to halt the delivery of any further lang-range muclear delivery vehicles (including MREG, IRES, and IGERS) to foreign states outside the territory of the nuclear powers.
- b. to render insperable all such weapons already located in such foreign states, and
- e. to arrange by agreement between them to remove such weapons from the territories of such foreign states at the earliest possible time.
- 2. Authorizes and requests the secretary General to lend every assistance to the parties concerned in carrying out these measures, and to provide observers to insure their simultaneous implementation.
- 3. Notes the intention of States Hembers of the Organization of American States to lift the quarantine measures around Outs, as soon as the offensive meapons have been removed from that country.
- 4. Becauses the 15-betien Disgramment Commission to meet at boads of government level to intensify the afforts to resch agreement, begand the about messurad, dn: Turther practical steps toward general disernament.

EXCISED COPY FOLLOWS

Ostober 24, 1962

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The Searchary

The Inder Secretary

Cuba in the Security Commeil

1. The Security Council will reconvene around 5:00 this afternoon. Meanwhile, all the leading members of the UN will be stirring around looking for a way out of an extremely dangerous situation.

2. Three mediation efforts can be surrently identified:

a. The UAR (together with Algeria) is floating a draft "restrain yourselves and talk" resolution .. There have been some changes since yesterday. The resolution, moving the changes is attached at the A.

b. The Britishan and Mexical

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE A COCTAB

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c. To insist on withdrawal of the Seviet missiles from Cuba before lifting our quarantine (i.e., not to be willing to trade our quarantine for a more standstill arrangement); and

Harlan Cleveland

IO:EC:mtb

RECRET

PROPOSED VAR DRAFT RESOLUTION AS AMENDED

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Having considered the recent serious developments in the Caribbean,

Noted with grave concern the threat to international peace and security,

Having listened to the parties directly concerned

- 1: Calls upon the parties concerned to refrain from any action which may directly or indirectly further aggravate the situation and-te-take-the-necessary-steps-te-bring-the situation-in-the-Caribbean-back-te-the-state-of-affaire-raisting prior-te-22-Ceteber-2962;
- 2. Requests the Asting Secretary General to promptly confer with the parties directly concerned on the immediate steps to take to remove the existing threat to world peace, and to normalize the situation in the Caribbean;
- J. <u>Sells upon</u> the parties concerned to comply forthwith eigh the resolution and provide every assistance to the Acting Secretary General in performing his tasks;
- to the Souncil on the implementation of paragraph 2 of this resolution.

(Phoned by Mr. Sisso, 11:20 a.m., 10/24/62)

SOVIET DRAFT RESOLUTION

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Being guided by the maintenance of peace and the ensuring of security,

Recalls the right of every state to atrengthen its defenses, Considering intolerable the interference by the United States in the internal affairs of Cuba,

Woting the violation of the norms of shipping imposed by the United States,

- 1. Condemns the actions of the United States designed to violate the United Sations Charter and increase tensions;
- 2. <u>Insists</u> that the United States Covernment repeal its centrals en shipping;
- 3. Proposes to the Government of the United States to halt any interference into the affairs of Guba er any other state constituting a threat to peace;
- 4. Calls on the United States, the USSR and Cube to establish sentest and to enter into negotiations with a view to appealising the situation and removing the threat of war.

Ostober 23,1962

SECRET

ENTANGING RESOLUTION

THE SECTRIFY COUNCIL:

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- 1. Requests the muclear powers:
- to halt the delivery of any further long-range muclear delivery vehicles (including MRHs, IRBs, and ICBs) to foreign states outside the territory of the muslear powers,
- b. to render insperable all such weapons already located in such foreign states, and
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- 2. Authorises and requests the Secretary General to lend every assistance to the parties concerned in carrying out these measures, and to provide observers to insure their simultaneous implementation :
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- at heads of government level to intensify its efforts to reach agreement, beyond the above measures, on further practical steps toward general disarmament.

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"THE SECURITY COUNCIL

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Moting also that as a consequence a quarantine is being imposed around the country;

Gravely concerned that further continuance of the Guban situation may lead to direct conflict,

- 1. Calls as a provisional measure under Article 40 for the immediate dismantling and withdrawal from Guba of all missiles and other effensive weapons;
- 2. Authorises and requests the Acting Secretary General to despatch to Cuba a United Nations observer corps to assure and report on compliance with this resolution;
- 3. Calls for termination of the measures of quarantine directed against military shipments to Cuba upon UN certification of compliance with Paragraph 1:
- 4. Urgently recommends that the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics confer promotly on measures to remove the existing threat to the security of the Western Memisphere and the peace of the world, and report thereon to the Security Council."

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